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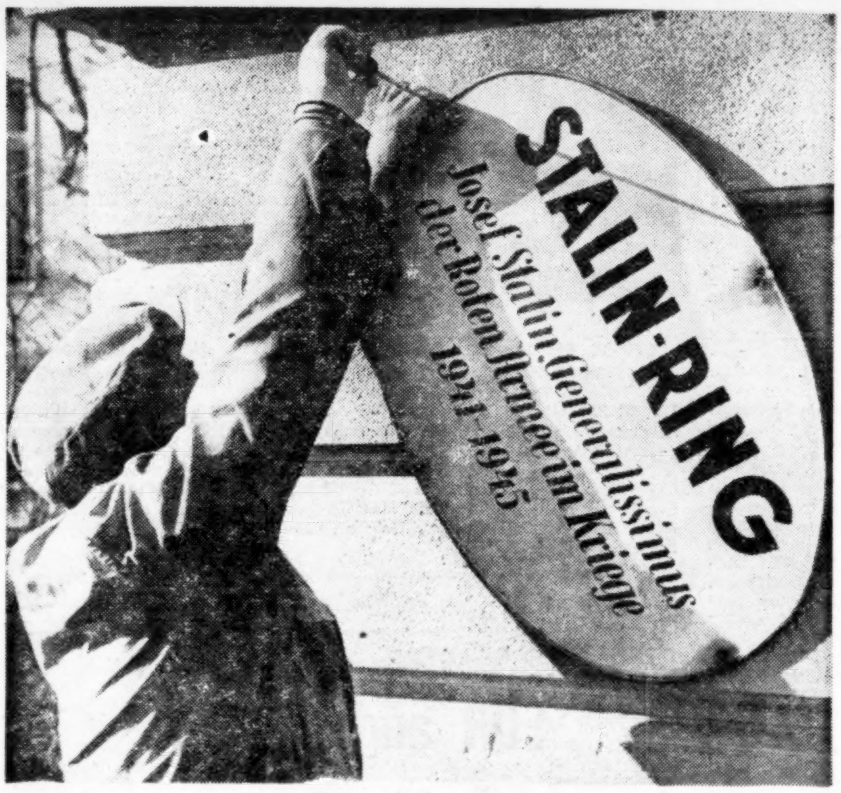

Sign of the times

The downgrading of Stalin that is taking place in the Soviet Union has an echo in the Austrian city of Baden. Above a workman removes a plaque marking the "Stalin-Ring," which was the Red Army HQ during the occupation.

THE STALIN REAPPRAISAL

Socialists in Europe move to peace with Communists

SOCIALISTS and Social-Democrats last week seemed to take the Soviet "reappraisal" of Stalin as a complete vindication of themselves in their decades-long, costly and bitter wrangle with the Communists. But there were few sneers. In some parts of the world, where the Communist Party had been meeting a chilly response to united front overtures, the Socialists took the Communists by surprise and almost beat their doors down to shake hands.

The trend was particularly evident where the CP is strong and the Social Democrats on the wane. In the Italian town of Carmignano (pop. 14,000) the Social Democrats, a hitherto anti-communist pro-Western party headed by Giuseppe Saragat, joined an alliance of Socialists and Communists to oppose the ruling Christian Democrats in the local elections scheduled for next month. The move, if followed throughout Italy, could drastically change the political picture. It panicked the government party and pro-U.S. circles. Charles Bohlen, U.S. ambassador to Moscow who was vacationing in Florence on his way back to Washington for consultations, was hurriedly called to a lunch in Rome by Italian Foreign Minister Martino.

SARAGAT UNMOVED: Saragat was at the lunch and Bohlen was called on to straighten out the wavering Social Democrat. **The Christian Science Monitor** (4/7) reported the results:

"Immediately after the lunch Signor Saragat was asked by a reporter whether he now realized that the 'Khrushchev line' can be as dangerous—if not more so—than the old 'Stalin line.' Saragat refused to go along with this idea and in fact

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Face-lifting

If the GUARDIAN looks a little different this week it's because we are experimenting with some new body type faces and headline type which have been made available to us. We think it will make for a more readable paper.

POLITICS

Kefauver's gains scaring Stevenson; Negro shift seen

By Elmer Bendiner

ESTES KEFAUVER in Orlando, Fla., last week introduced himself as a Southerner with a "national viewpoint" who believes that on desegregation the U.S. Supreme Court has the "final word."

To demonstrate that he was not a lone voice defending a lost cause in the South, he quoted from a speech in which he made the same point in 1954 when he was running for re-election to the Senate. He reminded his hearers that after taking that stand, he carried 92 out of 95 counties in Tennesse.

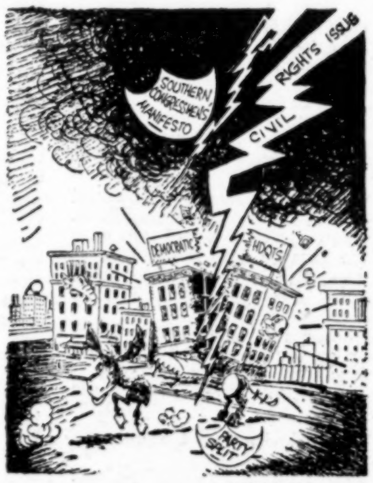
At Orlando he denounced "men of small minds . . . who attempt to define 'national viewpoint' and 'Southern viewpoint' in a way that makes the nation a liberal, dynamic, vibrant growing thing and the South a static society of yesterday." He appealed to the business men of the South:

"We of the South must buy and sell in the market places of the globe if we are to survive. To further this, we need peace—not the kind of peace that moves from brink to brink . . ."

NEW MANAGEMENT: Later at West Palm Beach where Kefauver spelled out his foreign policy more clearly it was seen to have a familiar Democratic defect: it offered nothing new, but only prescribed a new management. He said:

"The things of which I am critical are not so much the foreign policy of the Administration but the administration of our foreign policy . . ."

Kefauver voiced these differences with GOP policy: "NATO relations" have been allowed to deteriorate; Dulles implies the Soviet Union is in a state of upheaval and Kefauver says that "they [the Russians] would not be doing this if they were disintegrating." Kefauver plumped hard for arms for Israel, declaring: "We will not sit idly by and see a brave little democratic nation suffer aggression."



N.Y. Herald Tribune

Right down through the middle

Some observers still thought that Kefauver was less the bold statesman than the shrewd politician. Arthur Krock in the N.Y. **Times** (4/5) wrote that ". . . the Senator's political strategy . . . is marvelously conceived. He is anathema to the ruling Southern Democrats, so he cannot lose what he never had. But there are many white citizens of the rising industrial South who will approve his position; the Negroes, finding a Southern champion of national importance, will be encouraged to vote in the Florida primary; and outside the South, Kefauver has

(Continued on Page 9)

DEFENSE ATTORNEYS CHEERED, BUT . . .

Braden hounding goes on despite court ruling

DEFENSE ATTORNEYS for Carl Braden, convicted under a Kentucky sedition law, last week hailed the Supreme Court decision nullifying such state statutes, but Kentucky law enforcement officials pledged themselves to uphold the Braden conviction. It appeared that the issue might not be resolved until Braden's case is heard by the Kentucky Court of Appeals.

Louis Lusky, American Civil Liberties Union attorney representing Braden on appeal, called the Supreme Court ruling "the position that Braden's attorneys have maintained from the outset of the case . . . We are naturally gratified to have our position confirmed by the U. S. Supreme Court."

THE BASIC ISSUE: Braden and his wife Anne were indicted with five other persons for sedition when they bought a home in a white suburb of Louisville and turned it over to a Negro family. The home was subsequently bombed by persons never apprehended. Braden is the only one of the six defendants to be tried on the sedition charge. Last week he and his wife in a joint statement with Miss LaRue Spiker, a co-defendant, said of the Supreme Court ruling:

"We are happy about this decision not only for ourselves but for what it means to all Southerners who actively oppose segregation. This means that the state sedition laws cannot be used to prosecute them, as they were used in this case. However, the basic issue here remains: Shall a man be protected in his right to live where he wants to, regardless of color? We cannot be too elated until this protection is assured."

But State Atty. J. M. Ferguson announced that "we'll still fight the case to determine if Braden was convicted correctly. He's been convicted in a court and only another court can reverse it."

WHO SET OFF BLAST? Commonwealth Atty. A. Scott Hamilton, who prosecuted Braden, was reported moving to draw new indictments against the other defendants, charging them with sedition only against the State of Kentucky, in an effort to evade the clear intent of the Supreme Court decree. He was also reported as announcing that he intends to try Vernon Bown, another defendant, for the actual bombing. Bown was in Wisconsin when the crime occurred.

The Supreme Court decision has

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REPORT TO READERS

FDR and Einstein

THIS MONTH Americans mark the anniversary of the death of two of our most beloved citizens: Franklin Delano Roosevelt, on April 12, and Albert Einstein, on April 18. They were different men, these two—one living and relishing the public life, the roar of crowds, the give-and-take of political battle; the other passing his life mostly in the quiet of the study and the laboratory, the modulated atmosphere of the classroom, the stimulation of conversation.

Yet they were very much alike, these two, in their deep humanitianism, their love of laughter and their identification with their fellow men. In both was the desire for understanding and for contribution, and it was these qualities, so uniquely expressed in our time, that brought such a response in America and the world—a response of love and respect and pride. This is why on two April days, one in 1945, and one in 1955, the world wept with the grief of full hearts. This is why April must always have for us a mixture of sadness and gratitude that these two men were.

APRIL, 1956, IS A TIME OF FERMENT. It is a time of change when, under every form of government, people are beginning to think more deeply about their role as leaders, as policy makers, as intellectuals, artists, scientists, as responsible citizens in a changing world. And what is coming closer to the surface, in all the ferment, is a realization of the importance of thinking for ourselves, so that we can help ourselves and each other to a constructive and happy goal.

To this end Albert Einstein had something to say, also on an April day, in 1943, and we would like to leave it with you to read and to cherish:

"Our age is proud of the progress it has made in man's intellectual development. The search and the striving for truth and knowledge is one of the highest of man's qualities—though often the pride is most loudly voiced by those who strive the least. And certainly we should take care not to make the intellect our god; it has, of course, powerful muscles, but no personality. It cannot lead, it can only serve; and it is not fastidious in its choice of a leader. This characteristic is reflected in the qualities of its priests, the intellectuals. The intellect has a sharp eye for methods and tools, but is blind to ends and values.

"Our Jewish forebears, the prophets and the old Chinese sages understood and proclaimed that the most important factor in giving shape to our human existence is the setting up and establishment of a goal; the goal being a community of free and happy individuals who by constant inward endeavor strive to liberate themselves from the inheritance of anti-social and destructive instincts. In this effort the intellect can be a powerful aid. The fruits of intellectual effort, together with the striving itself, in cooperation with the creativity of the artist, lend content and meaning to life."

THE GUARDIAN

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THE MAIL BAG

Surplus value

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Hogtrough Ezra told a Swinegrowers Assn. meeting that it would not be practical to store hogs. Despite what Ezra says it would be very practical if other strong measures were taken at the same time.

The surplus stored corn could be fed to the surplus stored hogs.

Then farmers could be paid more to raise dogs than hogs.

Should the stored surplus hogs become a problem they can be fed to the dogs.

Should the question be raised here as to the possibility of too many dogs, I would say that it is a question to deal with when it arises. **I. J. F.**

Applause for Goshal

GRESHAM, ORE.

The members of the Oregon Fedn. for Social Action were pleased to sponsor jointly with the GUARDIAN the appearance here of Mr. Kumar Goshal. Those present at the meeting were equally taken by the warmth and beauty of the official Indian pictures of Mr. Nehru's trip to the Soviet Union and by the informed yet eloquent plea made by Mr. Goshal with respect to our policy vis-a-vis the former colonial peoples and the Asiatic nations. We hope thousands will see the movie and hear Mr. Goshal. No one, seeing the friendship and welcome accorded Nehru, could fail to wonder why we don't have an ambassador of good will, one who instead of talking of "brink of war" establishes a bond of friendship and peace with other nations.

(Rev.) Mark Chamberlin

Capt. Desperado

NEVADA CITY, NEV.

The average child is excessively pampered and given rather questionable privileges. They have no duties to perform and no responsibility. They are seemingly not taught good citizenship either at home or in school. The opinion they get from movie and television is that the desperado is the hero. **R. Sherlie**

Human fall-out

LA CRESCENTA, CALIF.

Responsible geneticists agree that every H-Bomb test increases by an unknown percentage the number of mutations resulting in monstrous or still human births. Such tragedies have occurred through all the long history of the martyrdom of woman, but their frequency has been increased by the crimes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and by every test explosion since. Whether, as one geneticist puts it, of the 90 million births in 1955 the increase amounted to 1,800 or 180,000 we do not know. Even the figures gathered in Hiroshima have been withheld from the public in the U.S. But just as the Nevada tests rendered a section of timber in the Vosges Mountains in France unfit, even after cutting and processing, for use near sensitive photographic films, so here and there throughout the world th' vastly more sensitive human genes are rendered unfit for normal reproduction.

Since the President of the U.S. is not, I believe, a man who would deliberately plan infanticide, his support for more H-Bomb tests can only be due to ignorance or lack of imagination. Indeed, he states repeatedly that he is impressed only by deeds, not words.

Therefore, I suggest that all mothers unfortunate enough to know in double tragedy both birth and death, should report the facts t the White House or to the nearest U.S. Embassy or Consulate for transmission to the President. If even these words are of no avail, let the President be invited to visit a maternity hospital, so that he may learn from first-hand observation the result of refusal to ban the tests. **Hugh Hardyman**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON, March 28 (UP)—An expert said today it was possible to build a bomb-proof shelter but the people inside might not survive. This testimony on progress in developing atomic shelters was given to a House Civil Defense subcommittee by H. L. Bowman, a consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission.

—N.Y. Times, 3/29

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: E.G., Brooklyn. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

Categories

ALPINE, N.Y.

GUARDIAN reported that J. Edgar Hoover had 110,000,000 non-criminal sets of fingerprints and 28,000,000 in the criminal category.

In which group are those of the Senator from Mississippi? Dulles? Judge Kaufman? McCarthy? And just what percentage of our population does Mr. Hoover call criminal, anyway?

George Cook

Any questions?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

That admirable writer, Dalton Trumbo, has either discovered or created some ambiguities with regard to my letter of a couple of months back. To be as clear as possible:

1. I certainly intended no **lese legalite** toward those lawyers who have fought so hard and so ably in various progressive causes. I honor them among our best fighters.

2. All major legal decisions these days are also political decisions. Politics is the domain of the whole man, not of the specialist, and cleverness in this area is probably more likely to go wrong than ignorance. It seems to me more sensible to create our tactics from the look of the full moon than to try to fight an implacable enemy with the weapons he offers us. Not that we shouldn't use them when we can; but not be limited by them.

3. Mr. Trumbo's behavior before the Committee constituted, I think, a more basic (more radical) rejection of the pretentions of that body than did my own attitude toward it. I think his behavior was politically the better—though not, perhaps, the more "sensible."

Thomas McGrath

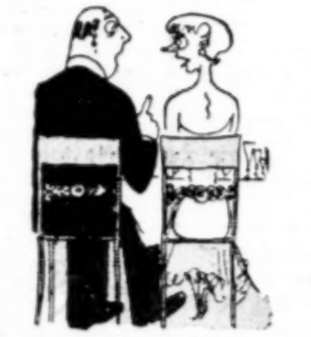
Early ham

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Charles Wason's article on **Richard III** is an example of the pedantic snobbery which assumes that everything Shakespeare wrote is a perfect pearl of wisdom. Obviously Shakespeare, when young, was interested only in successful craftsmanship and was completely amenable to the prejudices of his patrons.

Middle-aged, he confessed that he had "gored mine own thoughts, sold cheap what is most dear . . . looked on truth askance and strangely"; but it was in his irresponsible youth that he wrote **Richard III**, and the play is no more historically accurate than a McCarthy biography of Roosevelt. **Richard III** was, for his time, an enlightened, kind-hearted man. But Shakespeare was living under a queen who was the granddaughter of the man who deposed Richard, and Shakespeare slandered Richard for the same reason that American radio programs slander Communists today—he could keep his job if he did. Why should we try to find some way to justify the hammy monstrosity which Shakespeare created?

Leslie Foxworthy



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Before we go any further, Mr. Leadenhall, will you please understand that I don't mind the gentle pressure of the knee, but I WON'T have the Bank rate explained to me."

No apology

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The controversy over **Porgy and Bess** reminds me of the campaign of a Sunday paper a few years back to stop the use of Italian names for gangsters in films.

The mature mind accepts the portrayals in fiction of any kind as true if intelligently presented. It is a part of life. One does not see all Negroes as "Sportin' Life" or every Jew as "Shylock." Nor does he think he will be accosted by an Italian with his hand in his pocket fondling a revolver.

But one can hardly deny the existence of such people in any group. It is far better to accept the individual with understanding than to have everyone conform to the standard we set for him.

Porgy and Bess is a work of art. It needs no apology.

Thomas Grabell

Nennites, unite

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Three cheers for the articles by Ecco La Scolta, reporting on political conditions and parties in Italy. For more than five years I have considered myself a Nennite, to coin a phrase, and am now in contact with others in the Bay Area who likewise admire the political theories of Pietro Nenni.

I am certain that there must be scores of readers who would enjoy reading more about the views of Nenni and I suggest that La Scolta be urged to contribute an article dealing with the Socialist Party of Italy.

Nenni, who in the 1920's was a staunch anti-Communist, came to realize as a result of World War II that the danger to socialism was on the Right and that Communists at times could be the best of allies in arriving at a democratic socialism, to say nothing of the battle to defeat fascism. Nenni stands today for peace, socialism, a hope in the movement of the U.S.S.R. and a "Jeffersonian-type" of political freedom. He is a Marxist but does not endorse democratic centralism as the CP's of the world do. **H. L.**

Road to nowhere

POCATELLO, IDAHO

In Samuel Butler's **Erewhon**, a satirical work, there is a passage which seems comparable to the ideas of various people opposed to the formation of a third, or people's, party at this time. A dissertation by a professor of the College of Unreason expounds the irrational dogma of the college thus:

"We like progress but it must commend itself to the common sense of the people. If a man gets to know more than his neighbors he should keep his knowledge to himself till he has sounded them and seen whether they agree, or are likely to agree with him."

He said it was as immoral to be too far in front of one's own age as to lag too far behind it.

"If a man can carry his neighbors with him he may say what he likes; but if not, what insult can be more gratuitous than the telling them what they do not want to know?"

Name Withheld

EXCLUSIVE DISPATCH FROM PARIS

The Algerian freedom fight

By Tabitha Petran

(First of two articles)

DE X PATRIOTES EMPRISONNES
E BOUGIE
ORAN

A DEMONSTRATION OF ALGERIANS IN PARIS
The last time the police van filled up fast

PARIS

A CORDON of black steel-helmeted CRS (tough political police used to break strikes, etc.) guarded the Chamber of Deputies on a recent Friday when parliament debated the "extraordinary powers" demanded by the Socialist Government to deal with the Algerian situation. Across the Seine, in the huge Place de la Concorde, 50 or more truckloads of CRS waited. Big caged police vans, drawn up near the Tuilleries Gardens, were empty except for a few "flics" (cops) playing cards. Near the first in line, three small and very young-looking Algerian students were searched, prior to being pushed in and carted away.

This vast CRS-police turnout was designed to head off Algerians (there are 90,000 in the Paris region) bringing petitions to parliament. All morning trains into Paris from the poorer suburbs had been crowded with Algerian workers on their way to the Mosque for a religious service. By noon the Mosque had long been filled and thousands stood silently in neighboring streets. A few hours later, led by a girl in white carrying the nationalist flag, more than 10,000 began to walk slowly toward the Chamber of Deputies.

They did not get far. At the Hotel de Ville, a massive charge by CRS and police broke their ranks; many were hurt; more than 2,000 were arrested.

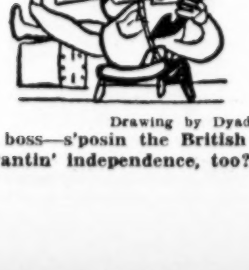
TERROR TACTICS: The strength and cohesion of the nationalist movement among the half million Algerians in France—as demonstrated in this march and in strikes by Algerians that same day throughout the country—has greatly worried the French government. Subsequently, Algerian workers struck east, north and west, and for Easter planned a demonstration in Paris. On its eve, however, motorcycled police units swooped down on workers districts—from the Latin Quarter to Montmartre and beyond—arresting anyone who looked Algerian. Soon 3,000 were in custody.

These terror tactics have not weakened the determination of Algerians to continue their strikes and protests until the government frees Messali Hadj, leader of the Algerian nationalist movement, now held in solitary exile on Belle Ile in the Atlantic. Unlike nationalist leaders in Morocco and Tunisia, who are men of property, Messali was a worker before he became leader of the independence movement.

In the early 1920's he worked at the Renault works in Paris—in the same shop with Chou En-lai and Ho Chi-minh, who were his friends. Since 1937 his life has been one of imprisonment, forced residence (after the allies landed in N. Africa in 1942) and exile—the Sahara, Equatorial Africa, France and now Belle Ile. The independence movement he has headed has been called by half a dozen names. Since the revolt of November 1954 it has been known as the MNA (Mouvement Nationaliste Algeriene).

HOW IT BEGAN: From an MNA representative, working clandestinely in France, and from other sources recently in Algeria, the GUARDIAN received this picture of the liberation movement:

The revolution in Algeria was launched following a split in the Messali movement which broke into the open at the party's Congress in Brussels in August, 1954. Militants insisted the time had come to fight, but the leaders were unwilling. Read out of the party, this right wing remained in the cities, while the militants decided to begin the armed struggle Feb. 1, 1955.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Say, boss—s'posin the British start wantin' independence, too?"

Their hand was forced, however, by a group of 300 who, without preparation or planning, and on their own, launched the revolution on Nov. 1 by declaring war on France. Of these 300, 150 were arrested by the French the next day. The revolution thus promptly came under the direction of the Messali majority. Faced with an accomplished fact, they ordered their followers into the fight. At the same time, Messali in exile proclaimed MNA's conditions for a cease fire: (1) recognition of Algerian independence; (2) liberation of all prisoners; (3) withdrawal of all troops.

PROGRESSIVE STARVATION: The Messali revolt coincided with uprisings at a village level throughout the mountain areas. Messali spokesmen claim these were sparked by revolutionary committees and Messali agents located in every village. Others picture the village uprisings as spontaneous, born out of the misery of a people who had waited years for France to fulfill its promises of land reform and first class citizenship.

Under French administration Algerians have been progressively starving: each individual has less than half of the amount of local grain to eat than he had in 1871. Rapid industrialization of farming since World War II has created a new army of landless, with European settlers pushing Algerians to ever worse land or off the land altogether. After nearly a century and a half of French rule, only 5% of Algerians can read and write, and the number of children receiving no education at all has almost doubled in the last ten years. Malaria and trachoma are rife; one child out of eight has tuberculosis. Except for the big cities of Oran and Algiers, there is but one doctor to every 10,000 inhabitants.

NO CLASS STRUGGLE: Whether the revolt was spontaneous or inspired by the Messali, or both, it is certain that the MNA now has the full support of the villages and the peasants. In the mountain regions where the liberation movement took hold, soil is too poor to have attracted European settlement; communal ownership of land still prevails; chieftains, charged with practical jobs of irrigation and crop rotation, are traditionally chosen by the people.

Here there was no struggle of class against class—the chieftains went with the people into the fight for liberation. And where formerly not a peasant in these regions belonged to a political party, all now belong to the liberation movement. Today over an area of 10,000 square miles—the Aures, Constantinois, Philippeville—the resistance movement has absolute control.

Moreover, in many areas "under French control" the French "presence" consists in sending in troops periodically to open roads for convoys. French soldiers don't risk their lives by going into the villages. The port of Colo, for example, has thus been isolated except by sea for the past six months.

LONG PITCHED BATTLES: When the fighting began in 1954, it consisted of small skirmishes localized in the Constantinois. By November, 1955, in the Philippeville region, the liberation army could carry out its first big concerted action—attacking 25 French military centers at the same hour. This was done by sending 10 uniformed soldiers into each of 50 selected villages: in each case the whole village, men, women, children—went out with the soldiers to fight.

Today 15 to 20 engagements, sometimes night-long pitched battles, take place in any given 24 hours and the fighting is spread all over the mountain country and even into the cities. Some 2,000 French military men have been killed, including many officers. As in Indo-China, the French are losing their trained cadres.

MNA's liberation army numbers about 10,000 uniformed, organized, disciplined men. In addition, there are uncounted thousands who are peasants by day and soldiers by night. Its cadres consist mainly of Algerians who fought with the French Army in Indo-China and either deserted to, or were captured by, the Viet Minh.

The French no longer dare send Algerian units to Algeria because of the high rate of desertions. These men bring military and, above all, political experience learned from the Viet Minh, to the liberation army.

THE LEADERSHIP: The army's weapons consist of rifles and automatics, only a fraction of which comes from foreign sources. The bulk probably come from "loyal" Moslems to whom the French some time ago distributed rifles. Robin Hood legends have grown up around a number of the liberation army's heroes, but few have become widely known. The army's military chief is 39-year-old Mustafa Ben Boulaid, who was captured in February near the Libyan frontier and sentenced to death. But not long ago he was rescued, along with 10 other condemned MNA soldiers, by his followers.

Whether or not there is unity of command on an all-Algerian level is a subject of disagreement. Some nationalist sources tend to claim there is. Others think it has yet to be achieved. These latter see the Algerian movement differing from the liberation movements of China and Indo-China which, they say, were inspired by political parties and then had to win mass support. The Algerian revolt, they say, began with the masses and has yet to win overall political direction.

CHARLIE CHAPLIN'S NEW FILM

The little king who loved peace

IN A BRITISH STUDIO some time in May cameras are to start turning on a new Charlie Chaplin film, titled, **A King in New York.** It was inevitable after his banishment from the U.S. that the theme would be exile. Charlie has come full circle from his earliest and fondest caricature of the immigrant.

Shortly after the London premiere of **Limelight,** Chaplin said he was working on the idea for a movie dealing with an immigrant, a little man who lands in New York and throws officials into confusion because the only language he knows is Sanskrit. Because they cannot understand him, they grow suspicious and finally send him to jail.

Once freed, the immigrant learns quickly, becomes a "success" and is elected President of the U.S. The story would provide opportunity for a Chaplinesque report on the state of the nation. One climactic scene was to take place in the U.S. Senate where Senators, in preposterous costume, were to be portrayed by slapstick stars Buster Keaton, Ben Turpin and Chester Conklin.

A LITTLE KING: The present script, as summarized by Chaplin for Gavin Lambert and published in the French weekly, **Lettres Francaises,** concerns a "very little king ruling over a very little country in Europe." His ministers depose him for seeking to use the atomic resources of his country for peaceful purposes.

He goes to New York to organize a fund for peaceful development of atomic energy, is charged with "communism" and thrown out of the country. For his place of exile he chooses Switzerland "because there are so many ex-kings in Switzerland." A secondary story concerns the love affair between the little king and an American public relations expert (to be played by Dawn Addams.)

Chaplin said the film was not conceived in any hostile spirit to America but thought there would be "serious difficulties" in distributing it here.

A NEW CHARACTER: Lettres Francaises saw Chaplin drawing himself in the script:

"The king, who sometimes will carry a cane and wear a bowler hat, is an exile . . . because he is misunderstood. He believed in peace and was treated as a Communist . . . In a general way we identified ourselves with the old Charlie, the outlaw, the tender anarchist; but since **Modern Times, Monsieur Verdoux,** and **Limelight,** we have been called upon to identify ourselves with a character, more closely, more particularly defined. A man who finds unbearable and degrading the life imposed by mechanical, industrial civilization; who proclaims that politicians legalize murder; who shows in the passion of an older man for a young girl one of life's most poignant symbols.

"From what Chaplin has said of his new film . . . he is going to carry this situation to a higher level. His hero can find a personal consolation—in his love affair—but in today's world, today's society he meets only misunderstanding and exile."

Freedom by radiation

IN the discussion of the [new spring atomic weapons] test series, Mr. Strauss was asked about international efforts to limit the testing of thermonuclear (hydrogen) weapons because of possible radiation damage.

Had such efforts succeeded, Mr. Strauss said, "we would be far behind the point we now are today in diversity and numbers of weapons."

The supposed damage to health that may result, he said, is "greatly exaggerated," but in any event, "it is a calculated risk that we must take in order that our freedom be preserved."

—N.Y. **Times**, Feb. 27, 1956.

THE STORY OF RAYMOND AND FREDDIE

'Listen, I am ashamed to be called a Southerner'

Raymond L. Morton, a 23-year-old senior at the University of South Carolina, was fired last month from his job as a telephone page in the State Legislature because of a letter he wrote to the university paper, "The Gamecock." The letter follows:

MAN'S FIRST passion was a grunt. With evolution he has molded and shaped his emotions with color and song and speech. Sing we must, else go mad. Speak we must, else the throat choke and burst with silent truth. Speak we must before it is too late.

Listen, I am ashamed to be called a Southerner. By biological accident I, like most of you, am a native South Carolinian. With you I am a student at the University of South Carolina, a rather large school, admirably progressive in everything except the desire to forget the past.

Throttled by this slavish and solitary stigma, we are not attempting to free ourselves. Unconsciously we have been smothered and strangled with tradition, the so-called southern tradition, a backward looking and odious attitude appropriately attributed only to the United Daughters of the Confederacy. For several years I have been a Page in the State Legislature. They too form a rather large school, and this is a monumental session in 1956. Arrested by the decision of "nine evil old men" on the United States Supreme Court they are intent on circumventing movements which would abolish segregation of races in our state.

Southern governors and legislators have been the embarrassing sound trucks for the South. Tempered by custom, they speak with weighty obstreperous and irrational voices. Never have they spoken for me and some of you. Never could they speak for those who feel as we do. Being a Southerner my decrying segregation is worse than damning a venerable old god, but most gods are merciful and understanding. Many Southerners are not. Most gods are forgiving and broad minded, most legislators are not.

Twelve miles below Columbia on a bluff over-looking the Congaree Swamp I was born. Clearly I remember racing through the haystacks over the holy pastures, green and blithe with the confusion of youth. The fields sang to us and our bodies ripened in the sun. My only playmate was Freddie, a Negro, and nothing I cared about the color of his skin. He was as young and free as I, and every moment as merry. Then one day my visiting auntie, an enormous woman, who smeared lipstick on her forehead when she smiled, saw us drinking from the spring. With all the affected dignity of a Southern lady she informed me that Freddie was a nigger and should never be caught drinking from the same spring again. Freddie cowered away dumbfoundedly. I was abashed. Auntie died two years later and both Freddie and I watched the funeral less than a hundred yards from the spring. There I discovered suddenly, not sorrow, but hatred. I wanted to kick dirt in her embalmed face, a face representative of the ignorance and superstitions of generations past. But Freddie and all the fears of his young dark world cried pity, not hatred.

Now Freddie is a part of a Korean hillside and he died for the grace of people like Auntie, but Auntie's temperament did not die with her. Her stupidity is reflected and echoed in every Citizens Council today. This America is—sing to me of the sunlight of the human spirit journeying through open windows. This the South is—slur to me your syllables of interposition. This America is; show, don't dream to me of human dignity. This the South is; move to the rear of the bus.

MONTGOMERY ALL OVER AGAIN?

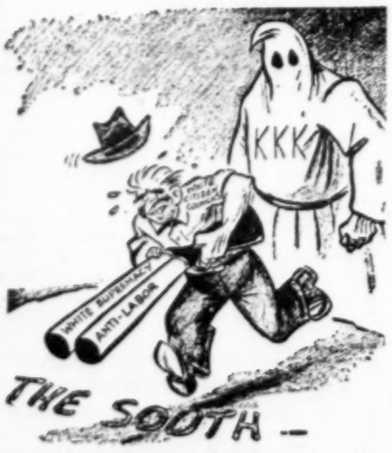
The South Carolina story: 'It's time for a stand'

By Eugene Gordon

EVERY BILL or resolution introduced in either house of S. Carolina's General Assembly in January was aimed at preserving jimcrow schools. One resolution declared the U.S. Supreme Court anti-segregation decisions "null and void." Another called for a special committee to investigate NAACP activities among faculty members and students at S.C. State (Negro) College at Orangeburg. A bill sought to make a teacher's membership in the NAACP "or the Communist party" grounds for dismissal. A third resolution was aimed at removing tax-exemption from churches which allowed meetings of "the Communist party or the NAACP."

Reason for this special attention to S.C. State College was its counter-offensive against the White Citizens Councils. These white-supremacist bodies had declared all-out economic war on Negro and white supporters of the Supreme Court rulings. Negro little businesses had been made bankrupt. Negro employees, at the risk of their jobs, had been forced to take their names off integration petitions.

THE EXILES: Judge and Mrs. Waties Waring were examples of outstanding white persons and the Rev. and Mrs. J.A. Delaine examples of outstanding Negroes driven from the state. Judge Waring had ruled favorably for Negroes at the beginning of the anti-jimcrow school cases, of which Rev. Delaine was an originator.



The Leader

COMRADE IN ARMS

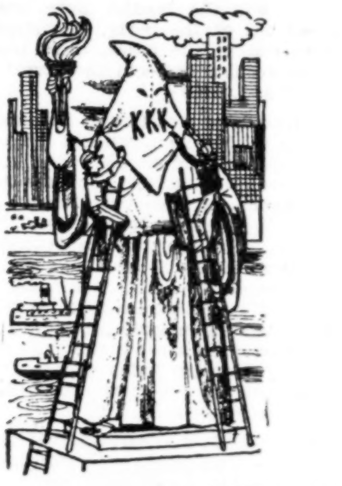
S.C. State College faculty—excluding President Benner C. Turner—and students had only to read the Charleston **News and Courier's** boastful listings of WCC members to know whom they had to fight. Leadership came from their own ranks. They proceeded to make their own lists to boycott: a laundry which serviced the college dormitories; a bakery and a dairy supplying both the college dining room and eating places near the campus; an ice cream and soft-drink distributor. The students publicized a report that the ice cream and coke businesses belonged to Orangeburg's Mayor Jennings, a Citizens Council member.

The students' action gave legislators something to think about when they met in the General Assembly after Christmas. Thus the rash of anti-State College bills and resolutions, some of which Gov. Timmerman signed at once. But after three months of threats, is there still no state investigation? What was holding it back? The Baltimore **Afro-American's** John H. McCray suggested from Columbia (2/18) three probable reasons: (1) "Difficulty of formulating any measures that NAACP lawyers couldn't crack in Federal Court, using the 14th Amendment"; (2) Fear that students of State College would demand its closing and their transfer to S. Carolina's all-white colleges and universities; (3) Fear that the the state couldn't find Negro instructors to replace those who would be fired; a spokesman had publicly declared that some were already seeking new jobs.

900 MISS LUCYS? Close followers of the struggle believe the legislators have been temporarily shocked into wide-awake caution in their teach-the-nigra-a-lesson offensive. What jolted the WCC lawmakers, these observers say, was the nightmare of 900 Autherine Lucys knocking on the doors of S. Carolina University and Clemson.

State College students and faculty last week got a boost from two neighboring Negro institutions, Claflin College and the Wilkinson High School. Claflin's Dean Haynes—who does not depend, as does Dr. Turner, on the state for his salary—said students and faculty at Claflin have been waging a similar battle since last September. Claflin students on Good Friday picketed Orangeburg stores owned by or supporting WCC members. Their signs appealed against trading with certain stores and added: "Join the NAACP." The high school students refused to drink the customary ration of milk from a dairy whose owner supported the WCC.

DANGLING PRESIDENT: At State College, meanwhile, students on Easter Sunday refused to exchange their weekly bed linens for clean ones from the boycotted laundry. That evening at dinner they received their plates of food as usual; then they quietly stirred it into a mess that couldn't be served again. As orderly as though they had been rehearsed, they left in a body and hanged Dr. Turner and state legislator Jerry Hughes in effigy. Hughes wrote one of the anti-NAACP bills and is co-author of another. A sign under the dangling effigies read: "Now they are together." (Four S.C. officials have now dangled on the State College campus.) The students elected spokesmen to confer with Dr. Turner. He refused to join the protest.



Vie Nuove, Rome

MODERNIZATION

Students who went home for the Easter holidays returned with their own sheets, pillowcases and towels. Some are receiving packages of food. They say there are no neutrals on the campus. Non-participants are suspect. One youth said: "They're making desperate attempts to find out who among us are leading this fight. If they find out, we know some of us will get it. If we can hold out long enough, though, we'll win, or they'll have to close this place."

TIME FOR A STAND: A student told reporters: "We're not fighting the General Assembly. We're fighting those firms which are backing the **White Citizens** Councils, because the Councils, while they live on the rest of us, are fighting some of our people."

Asked what they had against Dr. Turner, another student answered: "This thing has gone on long enough for him to take a stand. Since he hasn't, we're going to do the best we can with it. One thing's certain: nobody can make us buy what we don't want." The students have asked Student Council leaders at Allen University and Benedict College in Columbia and Morris College at Sumter, Negro institutions, for similar action.

A visitor leaving State College campus picks up a one-page sheet titled **The Free Press.** Listing boycotted enterprises, an editorial ends: "Join the NAACP NOW!! They are walking and dying for us elsewhere . . . Let us do something for ourselves . . . Don't have it said that Emmett Till died in vain."

NATIONAL INTEREST

Parley launches education drive

THREE HUNDRED delegates and observers attended an all-day "Conference for Legislation in the National Interest" in New York's Manhattan Center on April 7. They approved recommendations urging passage of the Omnibus Civil Rights bill, the Powell amendment to the Federal aid to education bill, and other civil rights and civil liberties bills now held up in Congressional committees. In addition to supporting specific bills, the conference pledged to work for repeal of the McCarran, Smith, Taft-Hartley and Immunity acts.

The conference conducted following panels: "Integration or Segregation—Breaking the Dixiecrat Hold on Congress," Jennings Perry, reporter, Eugene Gordon, chairman; "The People's Treasure—Our Natural and Human Resources," John T. McManus, reporter, Isadore Rubin, chairman; "The Sovereign Citizen-Congress and the Bill of Rights," Victor Rabinowitz, reporter, Clifford T. McAvoy, chairman; "Survival or Extinction-Congress and 'the Brink of War' ", Dr. Otto Nathan, reporter, Peter K. Hawley, chairman. Prof. Ephraim Cross was chairman of the afternoon general session following the panels and Angus Cameron the main speaker. Albert L. Colloms made the organizational report.

The general session set up a national continuations committee to be called the National Conference for Legislation in the Public Interest. It approved issuance of a call to establish committees of correspondence in all Congressional districts.

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Readers comment on Dr. DuBois' views on 1956 election

In an article headed "The theory of a third party" (GUARDIAN, 3/26) Dr. W.E.B. DuBois surveyed the field of candidates for the 1956 Presidential election and concluded thus:

"What then can I do? What can you do? I can stay home and let the rich tyrants rule, who now hold the power. The result of the election I cannot change, but I can at least refuse to condone it. I can stay home and let fools traipse to the polls. I call this sitdown strike the only recourse of honest men today so far as the Presidency is concerned."

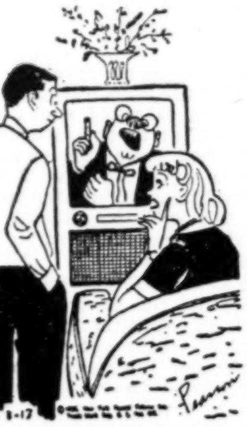
The article brought many letters, a selection of which we print below, along with other comments on the political scene today.

We can write in

DETROIT, MICH.

We were deeply disturbed by Dr. DuBois' article. No one could have been more lucid in presenting the bankruptcy of both major parties. In fact, all but the last paragraph struck as a classic in pamphleteering.

So, Dr. DuBois will stay home. Maybe another 50,000 or 100,000 could be persuaded to stay home. What will that accomplish?



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"Everyone worries about a scientist shortage, but what about the shortage of statesmen?"

Perhaps there will be nothing to choose from on the ballot. It's too soon to know. But this we know: we can write in a name. If 25,000 Republicans can be persuaded to write in the name of Nixon in the New Hampshire primary, then it should be possible to get many thousands more to write in the name of a man who stands for peace and real democracy.

H. E. Jennings.

•

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Passive resistance as a policy in the attainment of an objective can be very commendable, where it is a visible factor. A non-vote by its negative visibility cannot fit into this category.

The political picture described by Dr. DuBois in your recent issue is one with which many are in complete agreement. But let us make our resistance visible by the only possible method at this time — an organized write-in vote.

Dr. George C. Goldman

•

FLUSHING, N. Y.

I respect and admire Dr. Du Bois' statement but would not stay home from the polls. Absence is not a positive protest. If thousands of misguided voters can write in Vice-President Nixon's name in a primary election, then we can go to the polls and write-in our protest, even if it be only the words "Peace," "Socialism," "Prosperity," "Civil Rights," "De-Segregation," or just a simple "NO."

If there be any local candidates that represent any decent program, even within either of the two parties, then they can be supported.

Nathan Weintraub

An un-blown top

KALISPELL, MONT.

My compliments to W. E. B. DuBois' article. He is so right. Nothing to vote for, only distortion and confusion.

I would like to blow my top, but I know I would oversay myself, then Brownell would ask me to talk it over with Eastland and there is nothing more devastating than to have someone deliberately spit in your face.

It is gratifying that the GUARDIAN really has the finger on this nation's pulse. Keep it there.

As to Kefauver . . .

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I wonder what the average age of your staff and contributors is. In no way do I want to detract from DuBois' past record, but I am certain he doesn't sound like Frederick Douglass, also of my home state, Maryland. He sounds disillusioned and defeated.

As to Sen. Kefauver, he has come out four square against the Taft-Hartley Act; wrote the original committee minority report against the Walter-McCarran Act; favors an immediate 15% cut in armaments; peaceful relations with the Soviet Union; an immediate round-table negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israel situation; has always fought the monopolies and trusts (see Kefauver-Celler Bill); has before Congress the Kefauver-Roosevelt Bill for a better Social Security amendment; is forcing an investigation of Dixon-Yates, and favors public power, protection of public national resources and immediate school and highway appropriations, and the revival of the ideas and ideals of F.D.R.

I am convinced we need some new blood and re-evaluation in this country, too. Dissemination of pessimism is not befitting your newspaper.

Irving Benesch

Time to decide

NEVADA CITY, CALIF.

It is quite obvious that there are but two main political powers in the world. These are the socialists and the reactionaries. Socialism is based on progress for the good of mankind, justice for all, and abolition of war. Reaction leads to fascism. It is based on degradation, injustice and must periodically create wars in order to exist. The time has come for the American people to decide on what they desire—war and degradation, or security and progress.

Robert Sherlie

Defends Stevenson

LOMBARD, ILL.

Your referring to Stevenson's "washout" is beyond the scope of objective criticism. Granting all your objections the fact remains that he is more apt to be governed by his principles than any other man mentioned as a candidate. He did not try to buy Texas votes by giving away the Tideland Oil. Would you jettison him for Harriman or Nixon?

Roosevelt received the support of Hague of New Jersey and our own Kelly in Illinois, but he proved our greatest President since Lincoln.

D.D. Barta

Alternative

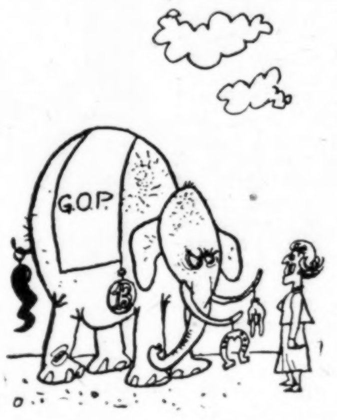
DETROIT, MICH.

I am in accord with much of what Dr. DuBois says. Neither capitalist party offers anything to opponents of war, regimentation and Jim Crow. Let's extend the example of Montgomery and boycott to both the Democratic and Republican parties.

But boycotting capitalist parties and politics need not mean "staying home" on election day. Despite the enormous difficulties of getting on the ballot, recognized and listed by Dr. DuBois, there will be at least one anti-capitalist party on the ballot this year in many of the biggest industrial states, including my own state and Dr. DuBois'. That is the Socialist Workers Party, a consistent opponent of the cold war, McCarthyism in all its manifestations and white supremacy in all its forms.

Dr. DuBois asked recently what stand the Presidential candidates were taking on the crimes against the Negro people in the South. Well, one of them, Farrell Dobbs, the Socialist Workers candidate, went to the Montgomery trial to observe and denounce that persecution in person.

Rita Shaw



Vie Nuove, Rome

"Signora *Luce*, are you going to be active this time in the American election rather than the Italian one?"

From a worker

DETROIT, MICH.

I and many other workers disagree that progressives, socialists, democrats, can intelligently vote for no one other than the party that we cannot have in the coming elections.

We, of course, cannot vote for the Ike-Nixon-Dulles-Brownell pirate crew. But Kefauver, or a Stevenson pressured by Kefauver's popularity, we can vote for IN SPITE of such a person's stand on some things. For such a person is more easily able to take more favorable positions if pressure from progressives and the people in general is enough.

Progressives must work with the liberal Democrats to defeat the Dixiecrats and GOP warmongers, must not clutch the tail of the Democratic Party but try to steer it to better positions from **within**. Our longed-for people's party of peace and freedom will come from within the Democrats in the future. That is what we must work for. It will come via the mass movements of a stirred nation, not merely from the wishful thinking of socialists.

A Young Worker

A big responsibility

PORTLAND, ORE.

I value my ballot because it is my only means of effective protest against the deportation of Belfrage and the witch hunt in general, the arrogance and menace of rapidly centralizing wealth, UMT, the imminence of nuclear war and the murder of the Rosenbergs and of young Till. All of these are the direct result of the control of the major parties by special privilege. To imagine that we can wrest control of these parties from special privilege and use them to correct those abuses is sheer insanity. This can never be done except by an independent party.

But the people lack the intellect and the courage to initiate such a party. Without leadership they are as helpless as sheep without a shepherd. If you wait for them to push you into an initiative, you will wait forever. The NATIONAL GUARDIAN is uniquely qualified to initiate an independent party. This fact places upon you a tremendous responsibility for which you must acount to the American people and to history.

H. P. Lee

A workinig draft

ASHLAND, ALA.

What do you say about making a rough working draft from subscribers' suggestions for a program upon which you and some 20 or so others will call a conference this spring? Then, let's go to work on it and run candidates in the crucial states at least, with all we can put into a campaign.

Hardy Scott

Speed the day

REDONDO BEACH, CALIF.

It is evident that not until our presidents are directly chosen by the people, and not wished on us by the politicians, will we have a truly representative government composed of plain, common-sense Americans, to take the lead and express the ideals of our Constitution and Bill of Rights. May a kind Providence hasten the day!

C. H. Turvey

U.M.T. and Booze

BALTIMORE, MD.

In default of a Progressive candidate, I'm for Kefauver. I long ago remarked that the Progressive Party, by neglecting to train all its heavy guns on conscription, was digging its own grave. I fear that now the grave has been dug. It might save itself by uniting with the Prohibition Party which alone among the parties has condemned U.M.T. The liquor barons and their allies in the Pentagon have too long misruled our land.

Lewis Bayard Robinson

"Vanguard Party"

ALTADENA, CALIF.

As Stephen Fritchman has called for a "vanguard party of socialism," it occurs to me that no better name could be chosen for the party than "Vanguard Party," since I understand that a so-called "Socialist" party already exists.

Howard Koehl

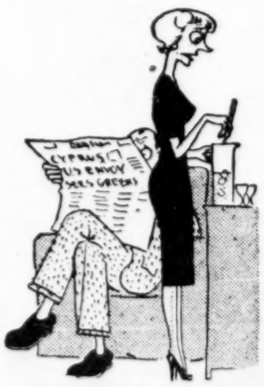
Time is now

PLAINS, MONT.

I think this man, John C. Taylor, in the GUARDIAN Mailbag has got something. In my opinion we sure need a party to represent the majority. If the people in this country can't get control of the government while they still have a chance with the third party, what are they going to do when that chance is gone? It is just about a one party system now, but they call it two parties so it will look like people have a choice.

Of course it is one thing to get the power and quite another to hold it. That was pretty well demonstrated in Spain and in other countries. Anyway, it is a big job to organize a party of this kind and whip it into shape, but I believe it can be done. We don't want our pie in the sky, we want it before we die.

Nemo



Daily Express, London

"But, darling, when you first said the situation couldn't possibly be worse, I told you that you were underestimating Mr. Dulles."

Time for a change

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Ten years after World War II the people of the U.S. are confronted with their political parties offering them candidates for nomination for the Presidency and for re-election to Congress none of whom has shown convincing willingness for ending the foreign policy of naked military aggressiveness abroad and of repression of civil liberties at home.

The two party system leaves the conscientious forward-looking voter with no clear-cut choice between real champions of progress on the one hand and retrogression on the other. A national misfortune, indeed, but one the collective will of the people can change.

May they do it soon.

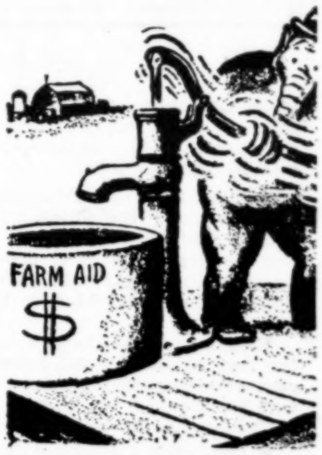
A. Garcia Dias

National combine

KANSAS CITY, MO.

What we need in this country today is a national organization of combined forces of all progressive and liberal groups, such as peace groups, money reform groups, pension groups, anti-tax groups and also draw members from the rank and file of labor, farmers and small business. From national organizations, establish an affiliate club in every one of the 3,070 counties. This should mean 3,070 active clubs working for a well-planned program. Some methods of reaching the millions of voters should be planned out as now corporate wealth controls the big daily papers, big weekly magazines, the TV and radio.

C. J. Hitchcock



Fitzpatrick, St. Louis-Post Dispatch

Sudden spurt of activity

Lookout Mountain

ERWIN, TENN.

In conversation with a thoughtful, though illiterate, mountain man, he gave off a spark of wisdom I will pass on. Maybe it will cause someone's genius to catch fire and cook up the proper pamphlet, speech, sermon or platform plank:

"The thing us no-book, workin' people need the worstest now is some know of what the government is, and who it really belongs to. Sure, they've heerd of the Constitushun — but don't know no more'n a cat what it is.

"When I tell um the government really belongs to the common ragged people—all of us—and that we got a right to change it if it does us wrong, they laugh an' say I'm goen crazy. They have long tooken hit fer granted that the government is a thing made and owned by God Almighty. And that the rich and booky ones like that rascal Dulles or any old skunk of a congressman, is God's trustees and got the right to steal, start a war, raise the taxes or anything they want.

"I know it ain't so, and you know it ain't so, but all the preachers and all of us mountain shabs **think** hit's so."

Ernest Seeman

RANK AND FILE LOOK FORWARD

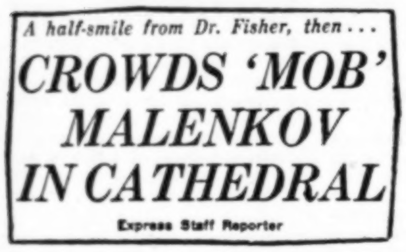
Labor co-existence at home is keynote of British CP

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

BRITAIN'S Communist Party wound up its 24th congress April 2 in a blaze of unprecedented publicity, contrasting oddly with the **Times** editorial dismissing it as politically "derisory." Newspapers which have prophesied mighty upheavals and fragmentations, as a result of Moscow's revelations about Stalin whose policies the British CP supported unreservedly, could find little but pale and disappointed sneers to fill the page-one and editorial-column spaces allotted to the story.

Elsewhere in the papers, the British tour of Soviet Minister of Power Stations Malenkov continued to be reported, with signs of alarm at his popularity, as a forerunner of the impending Bulganin and Khrushchev visit.



A half-smile from Dr. Fisher, then . . .

CROWDS 'MOB' MALENKOV IN CATHEDRAL

Express Staff Reporter

Daily Express, London

JOLLY MOOD: The CP in its four-day congress under the slogan "The People Will Decide":

- Re-elected its exec. committee almost intact (lowest vote on exec.-nominated slate, 386; highest challenging vote, 127);
- Heard speeches by 48 delegates from the floor evaluating and criticizing their own work (biggest press for the delegate who reported on the bouncing, growing CP branch in the Rolls-Royce factory);
- Concluded a 6½-hour closed discussion on the implications of Moscow's "re-evaluation" by handing out a terse press release: secy. Pollitt's report on the 20th CPSU congress had been "received," and "full confidence expressed" in the USSR and CPSU. (Close-mouthed party officials left the press with nothing to report except that delegates came out of the session "white-faced for cups of tea," "gathered afterwards in pubs in an apparently jolly mood," "went off singing 'Down By The Zuyder Zee'."
- Announced current CP and Young Communist League membership as 33,959 and 2,602 (total vote for CP candidates in the last general election was 33,144); pledged to build these up to 50,000 and 5,000.

CO-EXISTENCE AT HOME: The keynote set by Pollitt and vice-chairman Palme Dutt was for "peaceful co-existence between all sections of the British labor movement" parallelling the international "tearing down of iron curtains" (Dutt). Pollitt, asking for united Left militancy against a government "never more vulnerable" and for "ending bans and proscriptions on members of the Labour and Communist parties working together," ascribed the CP's failure to grow mainly to its being "a kind of auxiliary operating only to promote development of the Labour Party." A resolution was presented calling it "vitally necessary" to run CP candidates in local elections.

There was no disagreement as to the opportunities now at hand for the labor movement, but the congress still left a haze over just how the Labour Party was to be persuaded to co-operate. In a not wholly unfriendly editorial the Co-Operative organ **Reynolds News** suggested that Communists, having "built their political lives on absolute reliance on the leadership of Stalin" so that they now "lie in ruins," should disband and join the Labour Party.

SPARKPLUGS: Nothing would seem less practical and probable, and the quality of much of the congress discussion made clear that the CP has something important to contribute to the broad movement. The CP rank and file are deeply troubled about having "elevated the role of Stalin to the level of the miraculous" (**Worker** editorial, 4/2). How far up and down their error has penetrated, and what will be done to root out the "cult of the individual," the results of the closed session will show. But they are looking forward rather than backward at a time when human sparkplugs were never more urgently needed for the labor movement as a whole.

While the Communists convened in Battersea Town Hall on London's Lavender Hill, the ferment within the labor movement was manifesting itself also in the south coast town of Weymouth. There the Co-Operative Party—an affiliate of the Labour Party but customarily out in left field, with 20 MP's who accept Labour discipline in Parliament—held its annual conference. It was a mixed grill of militancy and go-slow. The conservative chairman complained of the Labour Party's scant attention to the views of the ten-million strong Co-Op movement, which has year by year passed militant resolutions on major policy issues. (This year, to end nuclear tests, cut arms spending drastically, spend the money on social services.) A left-wing try to pep up **Challenge of Our Time**, a rather feeble presentation by the national committee of Co-Op principles, was voted down. A resolution to scale down and eventually eliminate compensation to shareholders in the nationalized railyways was narrowly defeated. But a resolution to abolish conscription was passed by a big majority—putting the Co-Ops to the left of the CP whose resolution called only for "cutting the call-up" from two years to one.

CI ON CALL-UP: At the CP congress a Glasgow delegate, whose call for an unequivocal stand against conscription was defeated 294-105, insisted that a "party fighting a peace campaign cannot formally endorse conscription . . . We have a position which conflicts with the consciences of leading Communists." The CP exec. committee, within hours of the Co-Op vote, said that a demand to abolish conscription "might weaken the fight for a cut in the call-up at a time when the Trades Union Congress, Labour Party and Co-Op conference had demanded a cut."

Another conference expressing the ferment was set for the weekend after Easter in London, called by a new "Victory for Socialism" group of Labourites trying to needle their party into greater militancy. This group has put out a manifesto called **Though Cowards Flinch**, published jointly with the socialist monthly **Future** which was launched recently by left-wing Labour MP's.

Twelve Labour MP's are sponsoring the conference but the party executive has "warned" all constituency parties and trade union groups not to participate. The conference is expected to demand that the parliamentary Labour Party's meetings be thrown open to press and public (a demand already raised by Aneurin Bevan) and that its "standing orders" telling members how to vote be abolished to give MP's more freedom. The manifesto argues that constituency Labour Parties have a right to know how their MP's vote in parliamentary Labour Party huddles and to change them if, in obedience to "orders," they consistently vote counter to the majority of their constituents.

For the future of British socialism, the key problem is still to breathe democracy back into the rigid lungs of the Labour Party machine.

WAIT TILL MY WIFE SEES THESE, SAID GEORGI

Just before Georgi Malenkov flew back to Russia after his 23-day visit in Britain, he posed with two members of a girls' pipers band at a reception given him by London's Lord Mayor. Loved England, he said on his return.

ANNE AND CARL BRADEN

A man's right to live where he wants

The Braden Story

(Continued from Page 1)

stirred new interest in the entire case, with emphasis now on who set off the blast that wrecked the home of Andrew Wade, to whom the Bradens turned over the house they had acquired. The Louisville **Courier-Journal** wrote in its leading editorial on April 4:

"One point remains which has not yet been placed before any court: who bombed the house of Andrew Wade? A crime was committed in 1954 and no proof has yet been offered in court that the defendants who were charged with sedition had anything to do with the bombing. The Braden case cannot be considered closed as long as the unsolved crime remains as a reproach and a puzzle to the community."

A HOME IN RUINS: Earlier the Baptist Ministers and Deacons Meeting of Louisville and Vicinity, whose congregations represent half the Negro population of the area, adopted a resolution demanding prosecution of the bombers:

"Failure of the authorities to prosecute those who dynamited Wade's home has made it difficult for Negro people to obtain housing in neighborhoods of their own choosing."

Wade himself said: "The attempt to use an old sedition law to cover up the neglect to apprehend and prosecute the perpetrators of intimidation against me and my family has failed."

He reminded reporters that his home is "still in ruins, as it was the day after the explosion."

MR. SMITH POPS UP: Meanwhile in Congress a move was under way for a new law that would specifically give Congressional sanction for state prosecution of "sedition" cases and thereby overturn the Supreme Court stand that the Federal government has sole power to enforce laws aimed at "violent overthrow of the government."

Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), father of the Smith Act, and Rep. Harold H. Velde (R-Ill.), member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, were taking the lead for new legislation. They were getting support from several of the 42 states whose sedition laws are now nullified by the Supreme Court ruling.

Rep. John M. Robsion (R-Ky.) called for the indictment of Braden and his co-defendants under the Smith Act.

"MEN HAVE THE RIGHT AND OBLIGATION TO WORK"

There was hunger in Italy and the people were angry

By Ecco La Scolta

ROME

THE PARENTS OF A BRACCIANTE KILLED BY THE POLICE
"One room is standard for an entire family . . ."

THE WORST WINTER that Europe has seen in 100 years has claimed more victims than the disaster reports indicate. In Italy about 300,000 **braccianti** (farm day laborers) have been without work for months.

In good times the **braccianti** may work 100 to 150 days a year, earning a maximum of $35 a month. Off-season they get a few weeks unemployment allowance and the rest of the time depend on charity or starve.

The government unemployment allowance, when they get it, consists of 9c a day for children, 8c for mothers and 7c for disabled parents. They survive on an average daily meal of a loaf of bread and a cup of flour or an ounce of spaghetti. From one year to the next they never see a piece of meat or fish on their tables. Watery vegetable soup is the closest they ever get to protein.

SPLIT HEADS: In many agricultural towns there is a rag-market open once a week. Here the **braccianti** come, when they have a few lira, to outfit themselves. Shirts, socks, underwear, trousers, dresses—all are the cast-off rags of city workers in a land where clothes are patched and worn and patched again until they are in shreds, long before the **braccianti** ever see them.

The hovels must be seen to be believed. One room is standard for an entire family; three or four to a bed. Mattresses: canvas sacking filled with straw; heat: glowing charcoal on a piece of sheet metal; furniture: a table, a few chairs.

This winter the suffering and hunger transcended the threshold of endurance. In dozens of towns and cities the **braccianti** were demonstrating, demanding work, money, food. Heads were split, leaders imprisoned, demonstrators shot and killed.

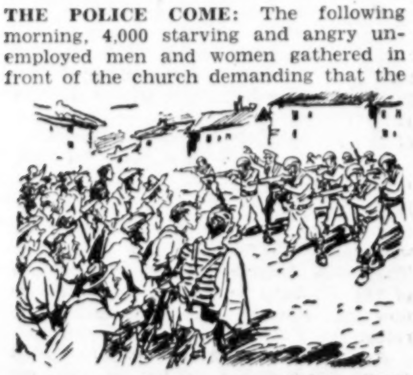
The latest in a series of such events took place in Barletta, on the Adriatic Coast near Bari. Barletta (70,000 pop.) has a Socialist mayor, a Communist vice-mayor and a Left majority in the city council. It is the center of one of Italy's most depressed and poverty-stricken agricultural areas.

HUNGRY AND ANGRY: Winter snows, sub-zero freezes and subsequent floods had swept the countryside bare. Grapes, olives, almonds, potatoes, fruit were destroyed. Sharecroppers and small farmers were ruined.

To meet the crisis, the government had allotted five million lira (about $8,000) in relief funds for the Barletta district. For the 5,000 unemployed, alone, this comes to $1.60 per person. The fund was gone before the real trouble started.

On March 13, the unemployed besieged the local **Pontificia Opera d'Assistenze** (Catholic Relief Organization) where a thousand food packages were stored. To stave off trouble, the mayor ordered 750 relief tickets, each good for a few pounds of bread and flour, to be distributed from City Hall, but the city had been parceling these tickets out to the most needy cases and the last of the tickets was gone. Meanwhile, the police (under state and not city control) had arrested "ringleaders" of the disturbance in front of the **Pontificia** office, adjacent to the church.

THE POLICE COME: The following morning, 4,000 starving and angry unemployed men and women gathered in front of the church demanding that the food parcels be handed out. The priest had distributed the packets the previous month, with apparent political favoritism.



Il Paese, Rome

"They complain of being cold—so fire!"

In desperation, a trade union delegation pleaded with the priest to distribute the food parcels to the most needy cases. "The Pontificate is not open to suggestions from outsiders," said the priest as he telephoned for the riot squad.

Police arrived and began hurling tear-gas grenades into the crowd. Women were clubbed. Police opened fire with submachine guns, wounding and killing.

One of the dead, Guiseppi Spadara, 49, left a wife and seven children, the youngest 16 months old; $160 in debts and four months' rent due on their one-room habitation. Since October he had worked exactly two hours, shoveling snow. The day previous he had been one of the fortunate ones to get two pounds of bread and a pound of flour from the city.

WHOLE TOWN MOURNS: The other, Giuseppe Di Corato, 28, left a 61-year-old, sick, pensionless father. Both were **braccianti**; both had their identity cards stamped, **Analfabeta** (illiterate); neither was a Communist.

When news from Barletta reached Rome, the Chamber of Deputies went into an uproar. The Minister of the Interior claimed that the police had only been "protecting property and maintaining order." Two days later the government sent the equivalent of $900 to Barletta "for emergency relief."

The entire town of Barletta went into mourning for the funeral. Merchants posted on their closed doors cards reading: "A Grieving Citizen." Forty Socialist and Communist members of Parliament attended and formed a committee of investigation. Spadara's orphans were adopted by the left trade unions. On the day after the funeral the unemployed again demonstrated, for bread, work and justice.

"ABUSIVE WORK": In Sicily, Danilo Dolci, well known non-Communist writer, formed a Christian-idealist movement to dramatize the plight of the Sicilian peasant.

He contacted the famous authors, Alberto Moravia, Carlo Levi and Ignazio Silone, publisher Giulio Einaudi (son of the former Italian President) and other well-known intellectuals. All agreed to help. Apeals were written, petitions signed, facts presented. Nothing happened.

In Trazzero, a small community near his home, Dolci organized a work brigade to repair a muddy, ruined street. This action was intended to demonstrate that there was plenty of public work that needed doing; that the unemployed could be put to useful, productive labor instead of starving in idleness.

The police arrived and ordered the brigade to stop work. They refused. Dolci was arrested. As four policemen carried him bodily off, he shouted to his followers not to be provoked, but to use passive resistance.

Dolci and 24 followers are now standing trial for "resisting the police—promoting unauthorized public demonstration—and conducting abusive work in the public weal."

HARVEST: The pre-trial hearing started on March 24. Brought to the court manacled and chained to two of his followers, Dolci calmly described the suffering in his county: the 87% infant mortality; the case of one man who had killed his own brother for the equivalent of $3. He repeated again and again: "Men have the right and the obligation to work"—a phrase from the Italian Constitution. He faces a maximum imprisonment of three years.

Both Dolci and Moravia may also stand trial for "immoral writings"— Dolci for his well-known book, **Pages of an Investigation in Palermo**, and Moravia for his famous **La Ciociara** (The Wearers of Work Shoes). Both are realistic expositions of poverty, hard life and prostitution in Sicily and Rome.

In a few weeks, important provincial and municipal elections will be held. Perhaps then the winter wheat will be reaped.

THE BUS STRIKE—SECOND PHASE

Door-to-door drive on in Montgomery to spur Negroes to register to vote

THE MONTGOMERY Improvement Assn. several weeks ago entered a bid for a franchise to set up a bus company "owned and operated by Negroes (to) provide adequate transportation for our people." It was rejected. MIA president Martin Luther King and fellow members resubmitted the bid on April 2. It was rejected again.

Mayor Gayle and the city commissioners told them to use the City Lines buses, boycotted by Negro citizens since Dec. 5, when Mrs. Rosa Parks was arrested and fined for refusing to give her bus seat to a white man. The MIA was then organized to conduct a one-day boycott. Since that day, Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes have shunned the buses. Mayor Gayle told Dr. King the company was offering "excellent service for the entire city."

A reporter asked Dr. King: "What will you do now? Is your passive resistance movement bogging down?"

The people were "just as determined as ever to walk until their demands are met," he replied. He repeated those demands as "courtesy from the bus drivers," seating on a first-come-first-served basis, and Negro drivers for predominantly Negro routes. He said that under Alabama laws the bus company could not do more than grant the demands. A case attacking those laws is pending in a federal court.

NEXT STEP, THE VOTE: Dr. King was fined $500 and costs on March 22 for "leading a conspiracy" to violate a 25-year-old anti-boycott law originally aimed at labor. The case of 92 other leaders of the resistance movement indicted with Dr. King were continued until his appeal has been acted on.

Answering the question what the MIA would do next, he said a block-by-block campaign was under way to encourage Negro citizens to register for voting in this year's elections. It is "an educative project," he said, "since, in order to qualify, an applicant is required to take a written examination."

While the MIA's legal staff handles the bus cases the voter-registration committee, headed by Citizens Club president Rufus Lewis, former Alabama State College football coach, visits from door to door in the Negro district. The plan is to go to court on the voting issue, too, if, as Lewis told reporters, "we can't get some satisfaction by appealing to the registration officials." Alabama requires a prospective voter both to pass a written examination and to satisfy examiners that he is of "good character." Members of the White Citizens Councils are usually the judges.

Macon County, where Negroes are 84% of the population and supposedly possess the highest percentage of literacy because Tuskegee Institute is located there, prevents Negroes from qualifying by maintaining an inactive board of registrars.

"I'll Pay $10 For That Book!"

THE person who said that was a young man—maybe 25 or 26. He was carrying a guitar. The book he wanted was **THE PEOPLE'S SONGBOOK**—a collection of folk and topical songs which has been unavailable for the past few years.

While the price he offered was high, the desperation in his plea was not at all unique. For, ever since the book was put on the out-of-print list, thousands of people in every part of the country have asked us for copies of **THE PEOPLE'S SONGBOOK.**

THE PEOPLE'S SONGBOOK was published in 1948. The finest talents in the folksong field were arrayed to make this a collection of lasting importance and popularity. Waldemar Hille, noted musicologist and composer, assumed editorial supervision. Pete Seeger, Earl Robinson, Irwin Silber and others served on the editorial board. Songs were contributed by people like Woody Guthrie, Lee Hays, Harold Rome, Earl Robinson, Vern Partlow, Sir Lancelot, Bill Broonzy and many others. Outstanding musicians composed creative piano and guitar arrangements.

The best people's songs of many generations were brought together between the covers of a single book. Songs like: *Careless Love, Old Smoky, Blue Tail Fly, John Henry, Joe Hill, Peat Bog Soldiers, Talking Union, Strange Fruit, The Horse With a Union Label, Go Down Moses, Picketline Priscilla, Kevin Barry, songs of the Spanish Civil War—100 songs in all.*

No wonder, then, when the book was published, it was acclaimed by critics and audiences alike. Here is what a few people had to say about **THE PEOPLE'S SONGBOOK.**

"Here is a big, clean wind of a book that will blow the mists of doubt and discouragement right out of your heart . . . These songs form a part of the universal language of liberty . . . a singing testament of the future."

—ALAN LOMAX

"In this book a swelling chorus of people's voices is raised in old and new songs of faith in freedom and protest against oppression—a contemporary 'cry for Justice' that is worthy of a place beside the collections of Upton Sinclair and Jack London."

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—MARC BLITZSTEIN

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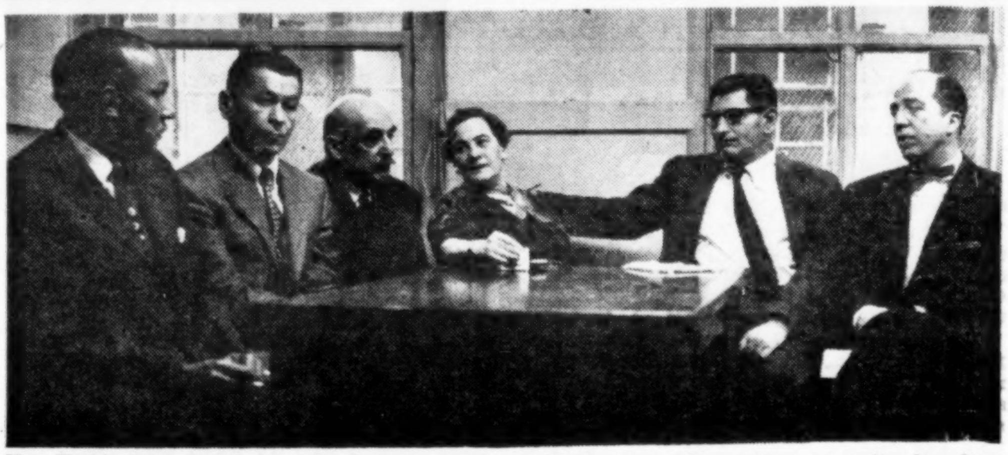


New York's third Smith Act trial in seven years began April 9 in the Federal Courthouse at Foley Sq. with the questioning of prospective jurors from a panel of 150. Eighty percent were employes—junior executives, clerks, etc.—of such big firms as Consolidated Edison, N.Y. Telephone Co., N.Y. Central and Penn. railroads and banks, whose salaries, unlike the incomes of small businessmen or shopkeepers, will continue, no matter how long the trial lasts. The defendants (above, left to right): James E. Jackson, William Norman, Alexander Trachtenberg, Mrs. Marion Bachrach, George Blake Charney, Fred M. Fine. Defendant Sid Stein is not shown. He is in the West. St. Federal house of detention under $105,000 bail.

THE PROTEST WAS HEAVY

'Daily Worker' gets offices back—but in shambles

THE EIGHT dark days during which Manhattan tax collector Donald R. Moysey's small army of occupation was encamped in the offices of the **Daily Worker** came to an end on Tues., April 3. The 30 staff members, who managed to maintain publication of the paper under crippling handicaps in makeshift quarters without their tools, regained possession of their premises in time to headline their next edition: "WE'RE BACK! Free Press Scores Victory."

From coast to coast, from powerful newspapers and influential individuals (including some of the most devoted anti-Communists in the country), had come protests against a government attempt to suppress a dissident publication on an unsupported charge of income-tax delinquency.

5-CITY RAID: The revenuers had seized the property of the paper and of Communist Party headquarters in five cities on March 27 in concerted surprise raids that reminded many grimly of the Palmer searches and seizures of nearly 40 years ago. They acted under a tax lien instituted on the ground that the **DW** owed some $46,000 in back income taxes and the CP nearly $400,000. They used a provision of the law which permits such drastic emergency measures only when a tax creditor is believed about to disperse his assets.

Official Washington disclaimed any foreknowledge of the raids and insisted Moysey acted on his own without consultation with any of his superiors. But the current issue of **Time** magazine says: "The raids showed signs of having been planned by and directed from [Atty. Gen.] Brownell's 'Washington office.'" Few believed that such a move could or would have been carried out without prior approval, if not direction, of top Washington brass.

"A BIG VICTORY": The **DW** and the CP reoccupied their offices after their attorneys in federal court reached an agreement that both organizations would post cash bonds equal to the T-mens' estimated value of the assets they had seized. In the case of the **DW**, this amounted to $3,000; for the CP, $1,500.

DW editor John Gates called the restoration of the property the end of "eight days of lawlessness" and said:

"Freedom of the press and free political association have won a big victory. The original intent of the government to close down the **Daily Worker** and cripple the Communist Party under the guise of phony unpaid taxes has met with a resounding defeat."

As for the tax charge against it, the **DW** said editorially on April 2:

"This newspaper has at all times filed regular tax statements with the Internal Revenue Service as required by law. They were never questioned. When the Service wanted to examine our books last year, it did so at great length and with our full cooperation. It asked for a waiver of the statute of limitations for the years 1951 and 1952 and received it. Its agent, one Mr. Cohen, spent months in our office going into every detail of our finances. He informed his superior, in the presence of our accountant, that he had received every cooperation from us."

OFFICE A SHAMBLES: It was common knowledge that the **DW** since its inception has always operated at a deficit, often as high as $200,000 a year. The question prompted by the seizure was: how does one pay an income tax on debts?

For an extra touch of irony, the day after the DW regained its quarters its mail contained a check for $24.08 representing a refund of overpaid Social Security taxes for 1951; it was signed by Donald R. Moysey.

As for the CP, political parties are not required to pay income taxes.

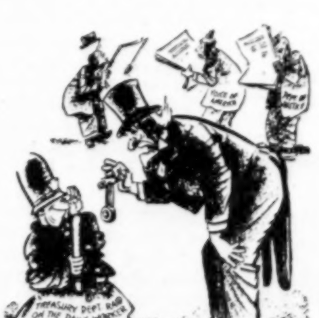
Returning DW staffers reported that their offices were in a shambles. Papers and files were strewn about, desk drawers had been emptied and scattered, personal effects were missing, books had pages torn out of them or were ripped in half, one addressograph machine was broken and name plates were damaged or bent, a set of earphones at a rewrite desk was ripped out.

All told, the cost of the occupation to the **DW**, in addition to the posted bond of $3,000, included some $2,300 in a seized checking account, more than $1,000 for repair of damages to property, and up to $3,000 in loss of income during the week the padlocks were on.

DANGER REMAINS: Although the DW was back in operation, it faced continuing harassment as long as the tax lien remained because under it the Internal Revenue Service can seize the paper's operating income. On April 6 the paper reported that Moysey had refused to confer with its attorney on methods of continuing operations financially under the tax lien and a court move for an injunction to lift the lien was likely. The paper wrote editorially on April 5:

"The lawless government raiders did achieve part of their objective. The raids were trumped up—as some newspapers astutely pointed out—to give the Treasury Dept. possession of records and other papers to which it was not legally entitled. This violation of due process was carried out successfully, and until the action is officially repudiated, it hangs as a threat over every American institution and private individual. For our part, we intend to go into the courts and ask that the 'jeopardy seizure' be declared illegal and the money which we had to post be returned. We will do this not only for our sake but in the interests of a free press and of the rights of everybody . . . There is no tax case against us. There never was. We filed all the required forms every year. The Treasury cooked up a tax claim on a non-profit-making publication as an alibi for seizure."

Meanwhile the paper depends for support on contributions to the Emergency Committee for a Free Press (of which the GUARDIAN's general manager, John T. McManus, is a member), 832 Broadway, NYC. Robert W. Dunn is treasurer.


TREASURY DEPT RAID ON THE DAILY WORKER

Herblock in Washington Post

"For the outstanding nonsupporting performance of the year, this tin padlock, inscribed 'Yay, Team' . . ."

The politics story

(Continued from Page 1)

spoken the prevailing sentiment in both political parties."

WISCONSIN PRIMARY: Speaking the "prevailing sentiment" was Kefauver's contribution in a campaign when machine favorites of both major parties felt obliged to pretend that such sentiments—on peace and jimcrow—did not exist. Whether out of political canniness or genuine principle, Kefauver was stirring the grass roots in the South as he had in the prairie states.

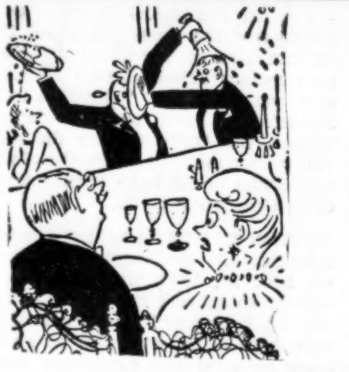
In the Minnesota primary he had handed his rival Adlai Stevenson a devastating defeat. In the Wisconsin primary he was measured against President Eisenhower himself, and came out well.

There was no contest in the Wisconsin Democratic primary and not much of one in the Republican Party. (John B. Chapple, a pro-McCarthy, anti-Eisenhower candidate, was easily crushed.) As in Minnesota, voters could ask for either party's ballot without regard to previous enrollment. The primary tallies were:

Eisenhower, 426,408, 55.4% of the total; Chapple, 20,558, 2.6%; Kefauver, 321,830, 42%.

In the 1952 elections Eisenhower polled 61% of the vote to Stevenson's 39%. The GOP primary totals usually double or treble the Democrats' in Wisconsin. It was plain that some GOP votes had shifted to the Democrats and that many of these were in rural areas. The Madison, Wis., **Capital Times** (4/4) said editorially:

"The outstanding aspect of Kefauver's vote in Wisconsin is that it emphatically affirms the farm revolt that caused such a national sensation in the Minnesota primary . . . There is no blinking the fact that the statewide totals indicate that the President has nowhere near the strength that the polls have indicated and that the myth of Eisenhower invincibility is nothing but a myth."



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"Oh dear! I should have known better than to put two Democrats together."

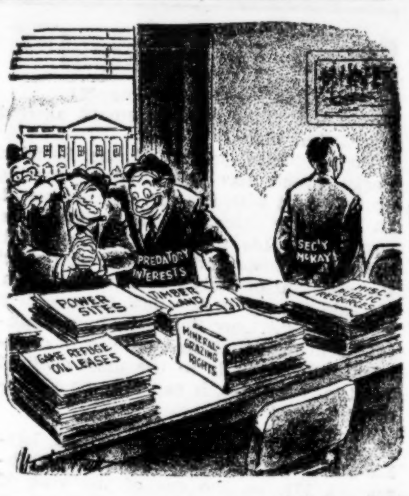
THE NEGROES SHIFT: The Republicans clung hopefully to another shift discernible in Wisconsin. While normally GOP farm areas were going Democrat, Milwaukee, which went to Stevenson in 1952, gave the edge to the President in this year's primary. The shift was heaviest in Negro communities. In one such ward where Stevenson polled 76% in 1952, Kefauver got only 59%. The development indicated not that Kefauver was less popular than Stevenson among Negro voters but that Democrats, by courting the Dixiecrats, were losing some of the Negro support they had had since New Deal days. Labor wards in Milwaukee also showed the Democrats slipping, though not as badly.

Stevenson seemed far more frightened of Kefauver than of Eisenhower. He canceled all vacation plans after Minnesota and tried to catch up with Kefauver's tireless stumping tours. With party machine and labor leaders behind him, Stevenson said he was "running scared" and tried to steal the under-dog appeal from Kefauver. After Kefauver had been hand-shaking his way through California for some days, Stevenson's backer, Sen. Humphrey (Minn.), went west to block him and Stevenson, himself, followed. Gladwin Hill in the N.Y. **Times** (3/30) described the debate, in which, before newsreel and still cameras, Stevenson munched a corned beef sandwich in Los Angeles' garment district:

"In the sandwich shop he was maneuvered by campaign stage managers through a crowd to a seat at a counter between two women, Elaine Rubin, 19 years old and Sadie Hayes, 30. Miss Hayes, a Negro, had moved her seat from one farther down the counter a few minutes before at the suggestion of Stevenson supporters."

WHAT'S AT STAKE: It was doubtful that the nomination would be decided solely on the basis of a performance with a corned beef sandwich. At stake was the Democratic Party and the Democratic machine. Without the Southern leaders, so hearteningly challenged by Kefauver, the party could survive but would have to be reconstituted. The machine, however, would suffer. If the South is to be kept in line, Kefauver could not be the candidate; Stevenson is still the likeliest.

W. H. Lawrence (**NYT** 4/1) said "political bookmakers" in Washington were confidently expecting Eisenhower to be re-elected, but with a Democratic Congress. Walter Lippman in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (3/29) said that:



L.A. Free Press

"LET US PREY"

". . . on the prospect of an Eisenhower-Nixon Republican ticket, one may have doubts whether any of the leading Democratic politicians in the north or in the south are really interested in the Presidency. In part that may be because they feel that the Democrats have only an outside chance to win the Presidency. But it may be also because they have done well enough, very well indeed, with Eisenhower in the White House and themselves in control of Congress and of so many of the state capitols. They may, in other words, regard the present division of powers between the two parties as not at all unsatisfactory."

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Stalin reappraisal

(Continued from Page 1)

would not make any statement against the Communisits."

Pietro Nenni, leader of the Socialist Party which has long had a working united front with the CP, felt heartened. In his party magazine, **Labc World**, he wrote that his major differences with the Communists had largely centered on the question of Italy's road to socialism. He said the CP in the past foresaw civil war while ". . . we Socialists have maintained instead that, in a number of countries and especially in the most civilized Western countries, it can only be a democratic way."

BRITISH REACTION: In England, left-Labourite Aneurin Bevan's weekly **Tribune** (3/23), on the eve of the visit of Soviet leaders Bulganin and Krushchev, said editorially:

"'Let us welcome them when they come to England, not only because we want peace with their country, but also because they have taken the first steps in the most difficult and honorable of operations—the dismantling of a dictatorship. But let us insist that they and their followers move with increasing speed and sureness along the road they have opened."

Bevan, like most Socialists, took for granted the correctness of all charges against the Stalin era and argued that the Soviet Union ought "to approach the future with fresh constitutional improvisations so as to prevent a similar occurrence." He argued that Communists were putting too much confidence in the belief that "the present leaders are better men than Stalin" and added:

"'Consider how far this sort of reasoning has taken the Communists from the once austere and objective analysis of the relations between men and their social institutions. In place of this there has now been substituted a sort of third-rate theology."

"THE STALIN WALL": The **Christian Science Monitor** summed up:

"It is known that Stalin's intransigence erected a wall around Communist parties everywhere, preventing them from entering into flexible alliance with groups of the left and even of the center, alliances which might have ultimately placed the Communists in strategic positions thorughout Europe. The 'Stalin wall' now has been apparently removed. . . ."

Some of the Left were not swept off their feet. They recalled that more than a "Stalin wall" had differentiated Communists from Social Democrats and wondered whether the long doctrinal debates could be so lightly discounted, though all cheered unity on immediate issues.

More important, Communists around the world, still without a clear bill of particulars against Stalin, varied widely in their reactions. For example, Costa Rica CP leader Manuel Mora, on his return from the 20th Congress, said:

"I cannot find the attacks on Stalin of which the cables speak. . . . They [the Soviet leaders] are not repudiating Stalin's merits, nor do they blame him for the phenomenon that they are now counteracting. But they are forced to oppose a conception that could have fatal consequences, the cult of personality."

POLAND—STRONG TALK: But Warsaw radio was reporting that "hundreds of leaders of the Soviet Communist Party, fighters of the revolution of 1917, talented leaders of the civil war and the struggle against the imperialists fell victims to provocation. . . . How monstrously and pathologically suspicious must have been the thoughts of the man who could suppose that numerous members of the Central Committee, most of them Old Bolsheviks, were enemies or imperialist agents. And yet it was Stalin himself who approved the lists of members of the Central Committee about to be arrested. The list of false accusations is long."

When the Italian CP's national council met in Rome early this month Stalin's portrait stood alongside those of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The criticism of Stalin there, as in France, was far more tempered than in East Germany or Poland. The stress in discussion in **l'Humanite** was overwhelmingly on other aspects of the 20th Congress.

AMERICAN REACTION: In the U.S. reactionary, liberal and Socialist sources took the new view of Stalin as gospel. Eugene Dennis, gen. secy. of the CP, in the **Worker** (4/8) seemed generally to accept that new view but added:

"Necessarily our own ability to judge this record [of the Stalin era] and the progress of this present reassessment is greatly limited by the absence of first-hand knowledge or contact. However, we believe that the CPSU leadership in facing this question and boldly placing it before the membership of the CPSU and the whole Soviet people does a great service to their party and to the whole people. Only a party that is really strong and enjoys the confidence of the people based upon actual achievements on their behalf would be able to open up such a question and pursue it publicly."

Few in the U.S. left, right or center, questioned the reassessment of Stalin or of Tito. Few openly doubted the startling posthumous rehabilitation of men tried and executed for "Tito-directed" conspiracies in the people's democracies, though the **Daily Worker** did ask for a fuller account of how Laszlo Rajk's confession could have been rigged in an open Hungarian court.

ACTION IN BULGARIA: Bulgarians "rehabilitated" ex-Premier Kostov who, on Dec. 16, 1949, was hanged for conspiracy to subvert the state for Tito. Unlike Rajk, Kostov had repudiated his confession in court, although he was said to have restated his confession and asked for the death sentence before it was passed.

Bulgarian Premier Vulko Chervenkov, one of those responsible for Kostov's conviction, was censured by the Bulgarian CP for failures in collective leadership. But there was no hint that he would resign or that he would be investigated for his part in what, according to his present statements, was a monstrous frame-up. Ten others co-defendants of Kostov who had been sent to prison for long terms were expected to be released.

Polish Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz gave one answer to a question that had puzzled many: Why did the present critics of Stalin accede to his alleged tyranny? Speaking at a meeting of architects in Warsaw early this month the Premier said that "it would have been a crime against the revolution and against the nation to march against the revolution because of distortion."

PRISONS EMPTY: In Russia and the people's democracies people were quietly coming out of prison: opponents of geneticist Lysenko, Polish ex-Premier Gomulka, Czechoslovak co-defendants of Rudolf Slansky, who was executed on charges similar to those faced by Rajk in Hungary. Slansky himself and Vladimir Clementis, both executed in 1952, have not been exonerated. Last week Zdenek Fierlinger, president of the Czech national assembly, now touring Moscow, was asked by reporters whether he foresaw such a rehabilitation. The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (4/7) quoted him:

"I don't know what has been published on it in my country during my absence. All I can say is that there was actually a trial, that Slansky was found guilty with other friends, who with Slansky violated socialist legality."

Inside the Soviet Union, where the specific charges against Stalin were still cloaked in generalities, **Pravda** and other Soviet papers raised more charges against Stalin but again failed to document them. **Pravda** reprinted a Chinese newspaper editorial saying that Stalin had failed to prepare the country against war and had committed "such serious mistakes as excesses in the struggle against enemies of the people."

The statement, first definite word to come from China on the reassessment, also charged Stalin with "'conceit, recklessness, committing arbitrary acts," neglecting the welfare of the farmers, "subjectivism," "one-sidedness," "divorcing himself from objective reality and the masses."

"ROTTEN ELEMENTS": The scholarly **Kommunist** assailed Stalin's lack of democracy within the party. The Army's paper **Red Star** attacked his military reputation and accused him of denying Lenin's military abilities, depriving the Army of the "very rich Leninist military inheritance."

There was yet no firm statement of charges a lawyer could argue against. The discussion was raging up and down the Soviet Union in all fields. **Pravda** found some of it beyond bounds. On April 5, it said "rotten elements" had taken advantage of the Stalin debate to attack basic CP policies. It said:

"The party cannot permit that the freedom to discuss problems should be taken as a freedom to propagandize views alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism because this would contradict the party's rules and its principles."

Pravda singled out by name those who had made "anti-party sallies" and those party readers who failed to show "Bolshevik irreconcilability" toward them.

NOT SO DISTURBED: To some observers who foresaw the "floodgates" of free give-and-take opening up under collective leadership, **Pravda's** editorial seemed a disappointing limitation of debate. The situation seemed harder to understand in the light of the apparent security of the Soviet Union as a socialist state. Jack Raymond in the N.Y. **Times** (4/3) reported from Leningrad:

"Most impressive is the complete lack of evidence that the Communists have been emotionally disturbed in their ideological loyalties."

Raymond quoted a "Russian-speaking foreigner who had unusually intimate contacts with party people":

"They have accepted the statements of the present leaders with the same discipline and faith that they have shown their leaders all along."

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Artist and Crusader

By Robert Joyce

EVERY ONCE in a while history produces a real life story which, in its failures no less than its successes, seems to epitomize a time. Such was the life of Bob Minor, 1884-1952, in the industrialized art of drawing for mass reproduction and in the Marxist science of mass politics.

The many reproductions of Minor's drawings in Joe North's "informal biography"* restore an unusually gifted artist to us. Mostly self-taught, he was both an internationalist and as native as apple pie. He was traditional without being derivative. He pioneered in the use of crayon on rough paper for linecut reproduction. He had humor, satire and unaffected sentiment.

He could organize sweeping composition like a great monument builder. Here was a fine draftsman who accomplished much and promised even more. But could he "organize" in the same unique and rare way in the field of politics into which he was drawn, pushed or fell? Is this a point for progressives to ponder in the time of the new look?

MOVING STORY: North's account is moving in his warm devotion to his subject and it is well-written and thorough. He takes us from frontier San Antonio to "working on the railroad" in the turn-of-the-century spread of unions and ideas of socialism. Minor became actively involved in every important political struggle from the Mooney-Billings case through the Palmer raids, Sacco and Vanzetti and Scottsboro up to the first Smith Act trials.

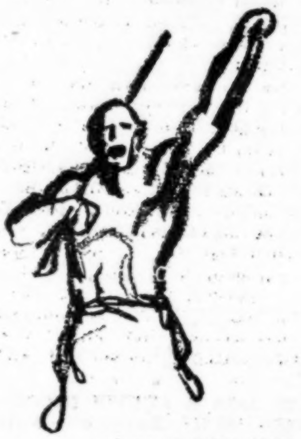
With North we follow the artist from a signpainter's shop to the San Antonio **Gazette** to the St. Louis **Post Dispatch** to the New York **World** and a place as America's foremost cartoonist—although it was his later work for **The Masses** and **Liberator** that fully brought out the mature graphic dramatist and technical master. It is an absorbing story and a disturbing one.

TURNING POINT: In 1926, aged 42, Bob Minor completely gave up drawing to devote his time to politics. A few years before, the lively and historically important **Liberator** had been merged into a publication called the **Workers Monthly** of which few today have heard and fewer remember.

North gives this turning-point in the life of his artist and crusader but a page out of nearly 300. Perhaps this brevity comes from a sense of delicacy, for the book is an affectionate memorial to one lately dead. However, in a time when progressives have lost touch with the people, a glaring cultural failure may have more than passing significance.

When the blight of unrelieved dullness characterizes so many progressive publications, this is not a small matter. It is hard to imagine that responsible Italian, English or French leaders, or their articulate rank-and-file, would acquiesce if, say, a Daumier or a Derain, became a speech-maker and gave up being an artist.

A MAN'S HOPE: Not that Minor was an ineffective organizer and fighter. North calls him the "winner of a lost cause" for his part in the Mooney defense in hysterical 1916, an effort which forced the commutation of the death sentence. Thirty-one years later the stricken crusader told of his hopes for the first Smith Act defendants:


Sketch by Robert Minor

"Nearly all the great 'labor cases' in the last seventy-five years have had a strange and unexpected outcome — from the viewpoint of the ruling class. Instead of the expected defeat of labor and the triumph of their persecutors, they have usually become to some degree, and, I tell you, to an increasing degree, a victory of labor and a defeat of the ruling capitalist class . . . as a result of a counter-attack by the working class, and only in the degree that the great mass of the workers is aroused to a counter-attack."

CAUSE AND EFFECT: In this perspective of 75 years (almost the span of Minor's life) the Smith Act persecutions have indeed had a "strange and unexpected outcome". The people have remained conspicuously unaroused by this attack on all our freedoms. So the desolation of dullness, part cause and part effect of the accompanying isolation of progressives, unfolded tragically in the closing years of the ex-artist's life.

Incidentally, it's absurd to tell the story of a Communist Party leader such as Minor in these years without even mentioning Earl Browder.

***ROBERT MINOR, Artist and Crusader; an Informal Biography; by Joseph North, International Publishers, 381 Fourth Av., New York 16, N. Y. Cloth $3 paper $1.75.**

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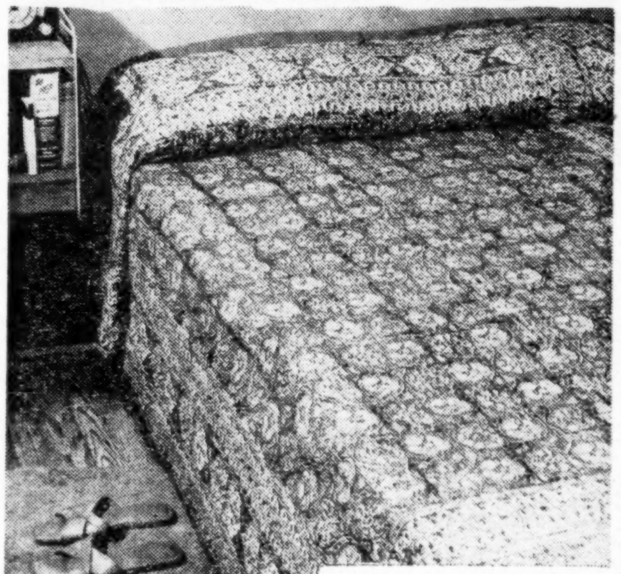

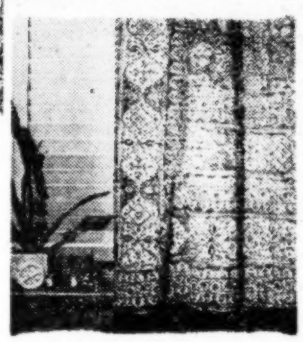

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